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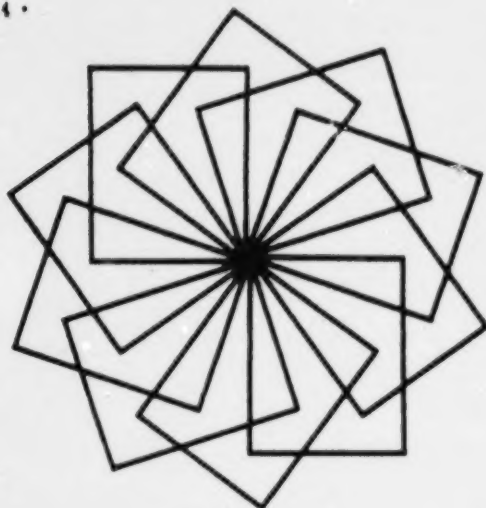
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ABSTRACT

The centralized, federally controlled, public educational systems of New Zealand and Australia are in a state of disequilibrium and change. While the federal departments of education still remain the one institution in the education system capable of an informed, overall view of the entire scene, the pressures toward decentralization (including cultural pluralism and citizens' desire for greater policy-making authority) are growing. As a result, the provision of educational services and the power of decision making is increasingly being placed in the hands of professional educators, specifically, teachers. This transfer of responsibility means that professional development of educators must emphasize accountability. The professional development of teachers cannot be administered as if it were a mere delivery system originating with the central educational departments. (Author)

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LEOPARDS WITH CHANGING SPOTS

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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LEOPARDS WITH CHANGING SPOTS

- 1 Australians and New Zealanders live just far enough apart to have language difficulties. In speaking in a trans-Tasman gathering on the responsibilities of employing authorities for professional development, I had better begin, therefore, by being explicit about my understanding of the phrase 'employing authority'. Here on the mainland, if I am correctly informed, you would, in thinking about employing authorities, have in mind a statutory body whose powers covered an entire education system. As well as the power to employ teachers, it would have all the other powers that belong to educational administrations - power to determine what should be taught, where it should be taught, in what kinds of accommodation, by whom, and with what resources and supporting services. The State Departments and the Education Authority for ACT are employing authorities: they also have all the other powers and attributes of territorial administering authorities.

- 2 We order these things differently in the off-shore islands two thousand kilometres to your east. For purposes of comparison, our national system can be regarded as our equivalent to your State systems. If you can forget for the moment the Federal layer on the Australian system, the New Zealand Department of Education has, with one important exception, the same powers and responsibilities as the State departments and the ACT Authority. The exception is that the New Zealand Department of Education does not itself employ the teachers who work in State schools. That responsibility is carried out by statutory controlling authorities: kindergarten teachers are employed by local voluntary associations; primary teachers by district education boards; secondary teachers, technical institute tutors and teachers college lecturers by controlling authorities whose jurisdiction is usually limited to a single school or college. These employing authorities are agencies. They control and manage their institutions and are the legal owners of their accommodation and assets. They appoint, employ and, where necessary, discipline, suspend or dismiss teachers. But they are not responsible for

determining the size of their own budgets, they do not have powers of taxation, they have limited powers to switch the expenditure of public money from one item to another, and they are, as a result, unable, as employing authorities, to alter the policies they are required to administer. They are, as I have said, agencies.

- 3 I suggest then that the trans-Tasman correlate is not the employing authority but the territorial administering authority. If you regard New Zealand as an honorary State and think of the New Zealand Department of Education playing essentially the same part as the Australian State departments, then the points of similarity should be close enough for the purpose of this discussion. And if, to begin with, we leave the newcomer, the ACT Education Authority, out of discussion, these State departments bear a strong family resemblance. They still bear the strong imprint of their nineteenth century origins. They were created as instruments of parliamentary democracy. They have important responsibilities for advising governments on all aspects of educational planning and policy as well as for administering, monitoring, and reporting on government policy. They are carrying out these responsibilities at a time not only of profound changes in public expectations of education but also of significant changes in the structure of authority, status and influence within the education systems they are administering. And they are the only institutions in their societies with the knowledge and sources of information that are needed to provide a comprehensive view of what is happening in public education and what ought to be happening as a result of trends and developments in the education system itself and in society at large.
- 4 So far, then, as these State departments are concerned, our subject - professional development - raises two interlocking sets of questions. There is first, the question of integrating policies for professional development with other policies aimed at more effective public education. Second, there is the question of how, at a time of profound social and institutional

change, State departments should seek to carry out their policies for professional development. I shall suggest that the departments are in the process of fashioning a new role and different working relationships within the education systems they administer. And to that end I will compare what has been with what is and with what might be.

- 5 Let us begin by reminding ourselves of the tradition within which the State departments were established, nurtured, and developed their own distinctive character. Those of us who work in government departments are part of Jeremy Bentham's legacy to public life. Bentham, you will remember, argued that it was the responsibility of governments to seek the greatest good of the greatest number. As far as possible this was to be achieved by rational means. And during the middle years of the last century, the years when Australians and New Zealanders were creating their institutions of government and administration, Bentham's views burgeoned into a standard set of procedures for the handling of public administration. In the determining of public policy, the fashioning of appropriate administrative responses, and the maintenance of an effective public oversight of activities carried out in the public interest, there were five separate but related functions: inquiry, legislation, execution, inspection, and report.
- 6 Public education in our two countries, as established by the various Education Acts, and as developed until at least the Second World War, was cast in the Benthamite mould. An Education Act set out the objectives of policy and provided the statutory basis for its administration. A Minister was accountable through Parliament to the electorate for the efficient administration of the school system. And to enable him to carry out that responsibility, the Act established a Department of Education to administer the system, supervise and inspect it, and report annually to Parliament.

- 7 On both sides of the Tasman, in the course of a century, 'the Department' has become an inescapable fact of life in the experience of everyone in the education system, a symbol as well as an expression of authority and State power. The various departments have exerted a controlling, constraining influence on the education system at every essential point. Through the power of inspection, the requirements of the Act for the enrolment, attendance, and suspension of pupils were policed. Through the powers to prescribe syllabuses of instruction, to conduct public examinations, and to inspect and report, the Department regulated the work of the schools, controlled standards, and gave advice and guidance to headteachers and their staffs. Departmental officers decided who among those applying would be awarded free places, boarding bursaries and scholarships intended to enable promising pupils to pursue their education at higher levels in the system. Departmental officers took part in the selection of student teachers, approved and supervised the courses given in the teachers colleges, inspected teachers in their probationary year, recommended their certification and registration, were involved in the handling of serious disciplinary cases, and had the power of recommendation to the Minister in cases where a teacher's certification and registration were to be withdrawn. The Department had the power to issue trained teacher's certificates and to prescribe the requirements for these certificates. Departmental officers inspected and graded teachers, advised on the relative suitability of applicants for positions and, through these powers, either determined or strongly influenced the career of every teacher in the State system. Departmental officers had the duty to advise principals, controlling authorities, and the Minister, a duty which gave ample scope for authoritative comment on the efficiency of the system as they found it and as they might like it to be.

- 8 The Department was the focal point of authority and initiative in the education system. But it was a constrained authority. The Department's authority was one side of a coin, the other side of which was the Minister's responsibility, through Parliament, for the proper use of public money and the effective administration of the Education Act. The Department's authority, furthermore, was in essential respects legitimated in the minds of parents and members of the general public, if not always cheerfully in the minds of the teachers who were subjected to it. The period I have in mind - from the passage of the Education Acts to the Second World War - was a time of nation building in Australia and New Zealand. Citizens looked to the exercise of State power to advance their own interests, protect the public interest generally, and administer public goods equitably. Certainly in New Zealand, the central government was expected to provide greater equality of educational opportunity and this, to be achieved, implied national policies, centrally administered, and supported by law and regulations that would, where necessary, be invoked. I shall characterise this long, influential formative period as tending to uniformity and orthodoxy, hierarchical in its distribution of authority and power, essentially ordered and static in respect of the educational objectives to be served, and apparently well adapted to the aspirations of the society the central administration was intended to satisfy.
- 9 Since the end of the Second World War the legitimacy of this administrative mode has been called increasingly into question. Our societies on both sides of the Tasman have become very much more mature in the sense that, on almost any issue of public interest you can think of, relevant knowledge and experience are now likely to be found in the community at large as well as in the minds of officials in State administrations. There is now a vast array of institutions and voluntary associations dealing with issues and taking up concerns which, a generation or more ago, would have been the almost exclusive preserve of official administrators. Universities and other tertiary institutions, including teachers colleges, have become important focal points

for teaching and research and for independent commentary and criticism. Research itself, with its own canons of evidence, objectivity and inference, has brought an important new dimension to the consideration of educational issues. There has been unprecedented specialisation of function, leading to the definition of new responsibilities, new roles to be performed, new forms of education and training to be provided for those who will fill these roles, a vast increase in the division of labour, and a great deal of anxious jostling for status and professional dominance within the education service thus diversified. With diversification has come expectations of leadership in the specialised fields that have been marked out. There has been a mushrooming of professional associations whose membership is largely defined by the specialised field within which people are working, whether as teachers, teacher educators, researchers, or administrators. And all of this has been happening at a time of similar development elsewhere in the Western World, when international contacts through books, journals, conferences, visits and exchanges have brought members of the education services in our two countries into the international educational community.

- 10 The character of the teaching profession is changing under these influences. Quite apart from what might be available within the Department, through the specialised knowledge and experience of its own officers, the teaching profession now has available within its ranks, or has ready access to, a growing resource of specialised knowledge and leadership. This must have big implications for the Department's plans and policies for professional development within the education service. For the Department, while still in important respects the dominant institution in public education, is no longer the single, omniscient one it used to be. There are new instruments that can be played and the policy question is the extent to which they should be left to play tunes of their own or whether they can - or should - be orchestrated.

- 11 There have been equally important changes in the larger societies our education systems are intended to serve. In part this is a consequence of higher levels of education among the general population. The same changes that are making for greater autonomy and independence of action on the part of members of the teaching profession are having a similar effect on the men and women who, as parents, are on the receiving end of the work of the schools. And on educational issues, as on other matters affecting their interests, they may now be well versed in ways of making common cause with other like-minded people to influence the education system or the policy of the local school in some way. The work of the schools and of the teaching profession is no longer something that the rest of society takes for granted. Where parents of earlier generations were supposed to accept on trust what the school system was doing for their children, now they may be full of questions, or out of sympathy with it, or actively campaigning for something more to their liking. And what may be more to the liking of one group within a school community may well be anathema to some other dissatisfied group. In New Zealand, the spectrum of opinion extends from concerned parents associations, with their worries about falling standards in basic subjects, subversive literature and permissiveness, to advocates of alternative schools, who are critical of State schools for their conformity, orthodoxy, and lack of flair. It is not uncommon for both groups to have the same school in mind when voicing their criticisms.
- 12 These, I suggest, are signs of cultural strain. The criticisms now likely to be made of the local school and of the education system are not only that it is doing a less than satisfactory job but that it is trying to do the wrong job. In other words, criticism, where it exists, is likely to be ideological, stemming from value allegiances at variance with those to which the school or the education system is committed, or thought to be committed. The system is wrong because it is not doing enough to remove social inequality, or to redress inequality between men and women, or because it does not acknowledge the needs of

ethnic minorities, or because it does not have a true appreciation of the educational implications of multiculturalism as a social ideal, or because it is placing too much emphasis on social development and not enough on competence in basic subjects, or because it is placing too much emphasis on basic subjects at the expense of creative activities, or because moral education is neglected, or because the attitudes and values that it does encourage are subversive of respect, authority, right thinking, and upright living.

- 13 And while these differences over the aims of education are becoming more apparent, education as a public function is assuming a greater importance not only in the lives of girls and boys but of adults as well. Formal schooling and opportunities for learning are ceasing to be once-for-all experiences of childhood and youth, part of the apprenticeship to adult life. Husen's phrase 'the learning society' spells out one of the requirements of societies which have a dynamic of technological, social, and cultural change.
- 14 Our circumstances today are in every essential respect at the opposite pole from those of thirty to forty years ago. Where our education systems used to exemplify the orthodoxy of our society's best opinion of itself, they are now becoming a battleground where organised groups strive to enshrine their own views and doctrines or to root out views and doctrines they find offensive. Where uniformity was once valued, diversity has become an inescapable fact of life. Where authority was taken for granted, it must now earn its keep. Where institutions could once be unthinkingly hierarchical, ordered, and static, those who serve them must learn to understand their inner dynamic and the conditions that must be met if they are to adapt successfully to changing circumstances. Where their legitimacy was never called into question, it is becoming something that must be continuously negotiated.
- 15 In all of these changes two things have remained the same. There is still one true God and Allah is still His prophet. Our systems still pivot around a Minister of Education who, as a member

of Cabinet, is the central source of authority and finance. The State departments of education remain the main administrative agency used by governments to ensure that their plans and policies are carried out and supervised. And the question is whether the leopard is changing its spots, whether State departments which were predicated on the Benthamite model, and which developed their traditions and their ethos as instruments of democratic centralism, are adapting to the needs and possibilities of societies that are being jolted increasingly by the currents and cross-currents of cultural diversity, moral relativism, professional aspiration, institutional imperialism, and participatory democracy.

- 16 With this as background and context, let us see if we can pick out the shape of things to come. What are the principles that should underpin departmental plans and policies for professional development?
- 17 To begin with, there is the meaning to be given to the word professional. In common usage it is an exclusive word. It marks off a group of people from all others on the basis of expertise, authority, and a right to practise. It also signifies a status within occupations and within society. Many of the aspirations and feelings of teachers stem from their perceptions of teaching as a profession, either as it is or as it might be. And these aspirations and feelings often focus on other, more firmly established professions - medicine and law are the examples most often mentioned - as models in comparison with which the further progress of the teaching profession should be gauged.
- 18 When we talk then about professional development we are using a phrase heavily freighted with emotive overtones. Most teachers in New Zealand would, I am sure, scan the word professional with the word teacher and assume that the subject of our discussion was the professional development of teachers. That is not the

assumption I myself make. I am quite certain that the State departments must define professional more broadly than that, and for at least two reasons. In the first place, we can no longer think of the teaching profession as if its members are interchangeable. The specialisation of function I referred to earlier is producing a high degree of differentiation within education services. Among those who will have shared their initial training as teachers, there are now members of the education service who identify themselves not as teachers but in relation to some other role of responsibility directly related to teaching. There are advisers of various kinds, lecturers of various kinds, educational psychologists, guidance counsellors, visiting teachers, special class teachers, educational researchers, inspectors, educational administrators, curriculum developers, media specialists, adult educators, to name only the most obvious. Secondly, there are other changes within the education service and within society which are adding to the number of occupational groups within which teachers are increasingly working: teachers-aides, technicians, industrial trainers, vocational guidance officers, librarians, social workers, school architects, paediatricians, psychologists, again to name only the most obvious.

- 19 My first conclusion, then, is that a State department's plans for professional development have to be conceived broadly. We are speaking in principle about every occupational group whose work is within public education or directly related to it. For where there is specialisation of function there is a growing need for the members of the various specialisations to be aware of each other's role and responsibility and how they contribute to the larger objectives of public education. Furthermore, specialisation, itself the product of change, is a powerful engine of further change - and this is another reason why the many specialised groups must be kept in communication with each other.

20 Nor should we allow ourselves to be mesmerised by the word professional. In our societies, education is becoming too important to be left to the professionals. Lay participation is increasing and, whether we encourage it or not, can be expected to increase still further in future. By laymen I mean people who by occupation are not teachers, lecturers, tutors or others whose job it is to provide educational services or supporting services of an educational nature. I have in mind everyone from parents whose interest in their children brings them into an active involvement in the work of their school to citizens whose work or leisure activities bring them into the educational field as facilitators of other people's learning. The future of our societies will increasingly be one in which men and women, whether in their own interest or in association with other like-minded people, will be seeking greater powers of self-determination. In New Zealand, for example, there is a strong tradition of voluntary association in all fields of public life. It is nowhere stronger or better organised nationally or locally than in education. Parent-teacher associations were an early example of organisations that crossed the boundary between professional and layman in education. The number and variety of these organisations, each one stemming from a shared interest or concern, has grown appreciably since then, particularly during the seventies. Societies for intellectually handicapped children, crippled children, gifted children, and children with specific learning difficulties are examples. These and other associations have had their origin in the education system or in an educational problem and have developed their own constituency of laymen and professionals. An organisation such as the International Reading Association might well be a pointer to the future. It brings together for educational purposes people from a wide range of personal and professional backgrounds whose common interest is more effective reading at all ages and wherever it is a human task. Its focus is educational, but its influence extends far beyond the formal education system.

- 21 Of equal importance are organisations whose origins are outside the education system but which conclude that, to achieve their objectives, they need to develop an educational programme. The temperance movement is probably one of the oldest of these organisations. In earlier days its interest in the education system was largely the interest of a lobby seeking to ensure that health education programmes in schools paid sufficient attention to temperance as a virtue. Now it sees its educational programme at the heart of its activities and seeks out the various kinds of professional expertise that will enable it to promote its own community efforts. Recent examples are organisations that have sprung up from a concern for the environment. These organisations see themselves with a mission to carry out. Where they need professional advice they annex it through consultation or by co-option, ensuring, where possible, that the organisation retains its own autonomy.
- 22 My second conclusion, then, is that relationships between professionals and laymen will be as important as relationships among professionals in the development of the policies of State departments. This has large implications for the professional socialisation of teachers and other members of the education service. More than any other professional group I can think of except the clergy and social workers, teachers must develop their professionalism not as something that widens the gulf between themselves and other members of society but as something capable of closing it. A tall order this for an occupational group which, for long enough, has aspired to the kind of professionalism exemplified by doctors and lawyers - one derived from the mystique of esoteric knowledge known only to the chosen few.
- 23 I have so far touched on questions of policy that are implicit in changes in the division of labour arising from professional and social differentiation. But these changes are not taking place in an agreed cultural matrix. Cultural pluralism is a phrase whose implications for education are only beginning to dawn on us. By 'us' I have in mind not only the officials in State departments who give advice on policy but principals, curriculum committees, and all those whose responsibility it is

to decide what should be taught, to whom, and under what conditions. Thirty years ago, when I was a student, it was impressed on us that a prime educational aim in a democracy was to induct young people into their heritage and their common culture. The emphasis is very different today. It is upon cultural diversity. Instead of a single approved rallying cry, there are now many good courses that people can - and, increasingly, do - commit themselves to. These may be ethnic, sexual, religious, explicitly ideological, sub-cultural, or counter-cultural in the sense of a consciously shared life-style. And the questions are: What do citizens whose personal allegiance is to one or other of these group loyalties expect of the education system in the upbringing of their children? How far should the State go to meet their wishes? And, if it tries to meet their wishes, how should the education system go about it?

- 24 These, I suggest, are difficult questions for educational establishments to come to terms with. We need to remind ourselves how much of our institutional life rests on assumptions of general agreement about educational and social objectives. That, as I have said, was one of the key assumptions of the political tradition of democratic centralism in which our education systems grew up. It coincided, too, with an era when public education could be regarded in essentially instrumental terms, that is to say, as a means or as a preparation for something else. Educational administration could similarly be seen in instrumental terms, as a means by which the wishes of the public, expressed through electoral procedures, were put into operation. These assumptions are losing their motive power. It would, I believe, be an exaggeration to say, as Yeats did in his remarkable visionary poem: 'Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold'. But in an era when social, professional and institutional differentiation is accompanied by cultural differentiation as well, the centre in the form of central administration becomes only one focal point and source of authority and influence among many - and it can no longer take its legitimacy for granted.

- 25 My third conclusion, then, is that plans and policies for professional development in education must be made and carried out at a time when the once-leading idea of a common culture is under increasing pressure from organised groups to legitimise those things about them that characterise them and mark them off from other groups in society. Public education systems are a key social institution in the processes of assertion, public debate, and decision that are associated with these attempts at legitimation. There are, therefore, questions to be faced about the inner composition of educational administrations, the teaching profession, and the authoritative committees and organisations whose perceptions and opinions influence the advice and recommendations that Ministers consider when they change policies or introduce new ones. There are even more daunting questions about the objectives of education systems and the role of professionals in deciding these objectives and carrying them out. For the more that the ends of education become ideological the less can the teacher as professional claim the right to the last word on what he should be teaching. And the more that the ends of education become ideological the more are schools in danger of becoming an instrument of group assertiveness, partial views, and propaganda. If, then, we take cultural pluralism seriously, life for the professionals who serve governments as educational administrators, and for the professionals who provide educational services, can never be the same again. Views of the world and of our place in it, which we could earlier take for granted, are being challenged and must be thought through again in the light of a radically different set of assumptions and expectations. Professional development cannot be approached in technical, instrumental terms, as if the task of administration was simply to devise delivery systems to give expression to agreed views of what professional development should constitute and the roles that professionals should play in the education system and in society at large.

26 Then there are questions of motivation. It is, I believe a consequence of the trends I have so far been outlining that the range of motives that members of the education service will have for wanting to add to their knowledge and expertise is increasing. One is an accompaniment of a heightened sense of professionalism. An essential attribute of a professional person is self-generated effort directed to the broadening or deepening of his own knowledge and skill. There is ample evidence that teachers and other members of educational services are of their own volition reaching out for the answers to the questions that may be raised in their day-to-day work. Another source of motivation is specialisation itself. New roles provide new opportunities. The prospect of a change of scene and the challenge of a different set of responsibilities is all that many teachers need to set them on a path of study or training that will enable them to qualify for consideration for such positions. A third source of motivation is often associated with the opportunity to take part in research and development projects. And a fourth source is the simple fact of the increasing availability of a wide range of courses of study from weekend seminars to diploma and degree courses.

27 There is, of course, much more to motivation than this, and some of it is negative and unhelpful. One consequence of the new opportunities that arise through specialisation can be a down-grading of the importance of the role of the general classroom teacher. A predisposing reason for an interest in a change of job and a change of scene can be dissatisfaction with the job one is now doing. People who feel themselves trapped in jobs that appear not to be valued are a ready prey to low morale and poor motivation. This has always been a problem associated with life in hierarchical organisations. It is one that must be grappled with by administrators who are serious about policies for professional development. Nor is the problem any longer one found only with those who feel themselves to have low status in the profession. The demographic facts of the education service in our two countries are such that career openings that once beckoned are no longer there or are there

less often than before. The wave of increased enrolments which, during the last twenty years, threw up large numbers of principalships and positions of responsibility is now receding. The people who found themselves in those senior positions often did so at a comparatively early stage in their career. Many have been principals or inspectors or senior lecturers for ten years or more and are only now in their mid to late forties. They still have fifteen to twenty years of service ahead of them. In terms of salary promotion they do not expect to go any higher. They are blocking the promotion of other teachers. They would themselves welcome a change of scene and a new challenge.

- 28 All the evidence points to this as a growing problem. It suggests that three of the key elements in professional development - motivation, status, and rewards - have to be brought together in ways not previously contemplated. This will not be easy. Those of us who have spent our lives in schools, education services, and government administrations have spent it in hierarchical organisations. Peck order, status and authority go together, they are perceived to go together, and those at various places on the pyramid normally expect them to go together. A good deal of time and energy, as I have hinted above, is expended by members of the various sub-groups in the education profession as they negotiate and re-negotiate the status of their group within the profession and the wider community. All this is well known. I mention it only as a reminder that this essentially nineteenth century form of social organisation is held together by strong cement.
- 29 My fourth conclusion is therefore that the motivations, expectations, and the 'reality' of their present situation, as perceived by members of the teaching profession, are of fundamental importance to the laying of plans for their professional development. The idea of hierarchy needs to be modified and its effects need to be softened. Forms of organisation which enable people from diverse backgrounds to work together on the basis of what they know and can do should

be encouraged wherever possible. More use should be made of the lateral arabesque, the sideways move, so that, instead of being something that occasions comment, it is seen as a normal phase of a person's career. There are obvious implications for salary scales and the views of reality that they conjure up.

- 30 Starting from some very general considerations, I have found it necessary to move into the field of social structure and professional organisation. I am saying, in effect, that these are not peripheral but central considerations. Let me touch briefly on some other matters of structure which provide the context in which professional development takes place and shape people's perceptions of it. The first I can best describe as a problem of coherence. As a consequence of the changes I have mentioned, it is becoming more and more difficult for people from any vantage point to see education steadily and see it whole. I am not qualified to speak for the Australian systems, but I am sure this is a problem in New Zealand. Some people know the parts they have to play but are not sure if they have their lines right. Others know their lines but are not sure whether they have a role. And the uncertainty arises in both cases because neither can be sure they know what the play really is. These are, of course, the symptoms of anomie - a crisis of identity resulting from uncertainty about the norms that regulate behaviour and doubts about one's role and significance in a total scheme of social roles. This is well known to be a hazard of large impersonal societies. Within our education systems it is exacerbated by the combined influences of rapid changes within the education system itself, increased specialisation and differentiation of roles, and the consequence of cultural pluralism.
- 31 Of the many reasons for this state of affairs, one of them, I suspect, is structural in the sense that it is a consequence of the way power, authority, knowledge and information are organised. In part it is a problem that is inescapable in systems where the key policy decisions are taken centrally. State

departments inevitably play an ambiguous role. They must, at one and the same time, keep official secrets and keep the public fully informed of developments in education. It is an uneasy duality. And where, as is increasingly the case today, they wish to devolve and put into other hands powers of decision and initiative that were previously theirs alone, they face a dilemma. Their decisions to decentralise are decisions made centrally and must be put into practice through initiatives taken centrally. As the satiric verse puts it:

The leopard cannot change his spots,
In short, they're his forget-me-nots.

Then there is the nature of the centrally determined policies themselves. They radiate from a centre. They are interpreted by many different people in different places, and they affect different institutions and parts of the system in very different ways. The place where these policies are likely to have greatest coherence is in the minds of the advisers and Ministers who conceive and approve them - in the reports of advisory committees, statutory councils, departmental memoranda, Cabinet papers, and departmental reports. It is in these decision-making forums at the centre that the interrelationships between curriculum development, staffing and specialised services, advisory services, teacher education, the maintenance and development of standards, the concerns and needs of special groups and students at risk, the conceptual implications of life long learning, the resource implications of policies for the expansion of early childhood education, and many other issues that bear on educational planning and policy making are brought together in a single frame of reference. The further you get away from the centre the less coherent and interrelated do these policies appear to those who will in their separate ways be carrying them out. The Treasury officer who investigates the Department's policy proposals could well have a better

appreciation of the system's total educational objectives than any middle ranking officer in the Department of Education, who knows his field of responsibility but not others, or principals of schools, who may know what's happening in their sector but not others, or university professors or interested parents, who may not have access to reliable sources of information.

- 32 This suggests that there is a problem of coherence. And it is not just a matter of more information and better channels of communication within the system as a whole. The place to observe the system with a view to seeing to what extent policies that have a coherence at the centre are being carried out in the spirit in which they are conceived is a vantage point in some district or locality large enough to support a reasonably full range of educational activity. And if, as I suspect, such observations showed that policies that were intended to be integrated and cumulative in their impact were being misperceived or misapplied locally, it would be necessary to look again at our processes for the making of policy and its administration - and look at it through the other end of the telescope.
- 33 My fifth conclusion is that our systems have problems of coherence, that these increase the further one moves from the centre to the periphery, and that the place to start, when considering how these problems can be reduced, is the periphery. The solutions will probably call for a range of solutions from the reorganisation of local government, through mechanisms for public participation, to a greater commitment to policies of continuing education, and to research and development, and to more effective information and guidance systems.
- 34 Then there is accountability considered as an essential structural element. The forms of accountability that served our system well during their earlier phase of democratic centralism are becoming outmoded and ineffective. Close central direction and control through control of professional training, officially prescribed syllabuses, the inspection of schools,

the power of regulation and financial control, has already given way to forms of control that require the active participation of organisations and interests other than those of officialdom. The questions of accountability that are now raised are directed increasingly to the nature of the constraints within which schools, colleges, and other educational institutions, and the teachers who serve on them, should carry out their work. If the Minister prescribes syllabuses in general terms, should he and his Department be held accountable for the choice of textbooks, the selection, of topics, and the style of treatment given in individual schools? And if the Minister should not be held accountable, who should?: the principal, as the professional leader of the school?; the principal and staff on the basis of their collective professional knowledge and judgement?; individual teachers?; the school's governing body?; or some combination of these interests? These questions put the whole issue of responsible professional action and, accordingly, the related question of professional development into a new context, one for which there are no simple recipes that can be passed around. If less department means, in practice, more power of decision to professionals on the spot, who looks after the public interest? And what, in any case, does the public interest mean in culturally diverse communities? If the public interest, as reflected in the policies of central government and administered by departments of education, is to give way to some local manifestation of the public interest such as boards of governors with power to determine curriculum as well as to appoint and employ staff, what does that mean for the professional role of men and women whose salaries are funded entirely from the public purse?

- 35 My sixth conclusion is that, as the effective power of decision moves away from the centre, there is a fundamental question of accountability to be faced at the periphery. The point at issue is not so much the age-old one of the disposition of power between central and local authority. It is the balance

to be struck between the professional and the public interest in forums where decisions will be made about what schools and other educational institutions should be doing and how they should be doing it.

- 36 The last structural feature I shall mention is the training system for the professionals who are to provide educational services in the societies whose changing character I have been describing. The training system used to be rather rudimentary: initial preparation in a teachers college or university, followed by supervision by senior members of the profession in the form of on-the-job training. It is not possible, without going into great detail, to outline the ways in which training systems are being transformed into systems for the continuing education of teachers. In the light of what I have been saying, the opportunities for refurbishing and for extra study need to become a settled expectation of all who are actively engaged, whether as salaried or as voluntary providers of education or educational services. The continuing education of teachers would on this view be only one aspect albeit an important one, of plans and policies for continuing education generally. And, as with the issue of continuing education as a whole, it raises the important question of the relative weight to be given to opportunities for professional development that are directly related to a job to be done and opportunities that are available to individuals as of right to be taken up with suitable financial assistance as a right at times of their choice for studies of their choice. Our systems are increasing their provision for additional training for teachers in-service so that they may be better prepared for, or inducted into, new responsibilities. Much more needs to be done before professorial needs and training opportunities are brought into some kind of balance. The idea of paid education leave for teachers, as for other citizens, is, of course, much more recent and will no doubt have a hard row to hoe.

37. My seventh conclusion is that professional development should be thought of and administered as part of the broad and developing field of continuing. Careers, like lifetimes, are becoming cumulative learning experiences. The policy questions raised by the continuing education of teachers and other professionals in education are, in principle, the same questions that are raised for continuing education in general.
38. Let me now sum up. I have suggested that our societies, and therefore our education systems, are in a state of disequilibrium. The State departments accordingly find themselves planning for a future they cannot presume, a future, moreover, that seems bound to be problematic. They still have a privileged position as policy advisers and government administrators. They remain the one institution in the education system capable of an informed, overall view of the entire scene. A minister's mail-bag, his in-tray, and his engagement book provide, as they always have, the best evidence of the way our education systems are performing, where they are falling short, how they might be improved, what they might do that they are not doing now, and what members of the community think about these questions. Increasingly, however, ministers propose that others may dispose. The provision of educational services and the power of decision in the places where learning and teaching are actually undertaken is being placed more and more in the hands of the teaching profession. This transfer of responsibility is taking place at a time when there is increasing dispute about the aims of education, a growing acknowledgment of cultural diversity and a recognition that education systems should respect this diversity, and a determination on the part of growing numbers of citizens to have a greater say in shaping the policies of their local schools. In these circumstances, the professional development of teachers and others who work in our education systems cannot be administered as if it were a mere delivery system. The societies in which we live and for which professionals must be prepared are dynamic systems. Not only the professionals but everyone who is seeking to influence the future of education as a public function needs first of all to develop an understanding of the

social, technological, and cultural processes that are providing this dynamic. Then the role of the professional in education has to be negotiated in a public arena where the traditional right of the professional's autonomy will have to be traded off against a perceptible and growing community desire for participation and self-determination. At the heart of this issue is a question of accountability. Only as these fundamental questions are resolved will the State departments feel confident to address the what and the why as well as the how of professional development. The spots are changing. And so are the leopards.